

# How is Bushido Read by Modern Native Speakers of English? : With Special Reference to the English of Bushido

著者	TOMEI Joseph, HORI Masahiro
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# How is *Bushido* Read by Modern Native Speakers of English? - With Special Reference to the English of *Bushido* -

Joseph TOMEI  
Masahiro HORI

## Abstract

Inazo Nitobe's *Bushido* is a unique work, a small book written in English by a Japanese cosmopolitan that became a world-wide best seller. While a body of research has emerged discussing the extent of Nitobe's knowledge of Bushido as well as the purposes for writing a book about a Japanese phenomenon for Western consumption, this paper seeks to examine Nitobe's English, which has widely been upheld by Japanese teachers and scholars as a model of superb English prose, but is regarded as dated and quaint by present day native speakers. By making a preliminary examination of Nitobe's English, we hope to lay groundwork for more in-depth research as well as draw some lessons for present day learners of English.

## 1.0 Introduction

Inazo Nitobe's *Bushido* is, in many ways a unique book. Written in 1900 in Nitobe's second language, English, it was an international best-seller of its time, and by 1905 and the 10<sup>th</sup> edition, it had been translated in several European languages and it was only with that international success (and the Japanese victory in the Sino-Russian war) that the book was translated into Japanese. It was through this book that the word *bushido* had become known to people in the world, and many reviewers were generally supportive of the book, though there were a few harsh reviews, including Sokichi Tsuda who most severely criticized Nitobe's book, but the success of the book laid the groundwork for some enduring perceptions of the Japanese mind and character.

First published in the United States, the book was written for a Western

audience, with Nitobe drawing numerous parallels to Western tradition and Western notions of chivalry. For Nitobe, *bushido* was a repository of the positive aspects of Japanese society, aspects that included loyalty, politeness, generosity, and bravery and argued that *bushido* was not a province solely of the elite, but had permeated Japanese society and many believed that *bushido* was an essential component to Japan's success in modernization.

This paper will not deal with the content of the book but rather, the English of Nitobe's *Bushido*. The English was, at the time, was highly praised by native speakers of English in particular. For example, Nitobe's ability in English was cited by the *New York Times* while Nitobe was still alive (2 July, 1911) and Hurst, citing Yuzo Ota, describes Nitobe as a member of the "Generation of Masters of English" who was "far more familiar with the themes and metaphors of classical Western literature than those of his native Japan" (1990: 511-512). Torikai (2009: 55) claims that *Bushido* is "one of the best English prose works written by a Japanese".

In Meiji Japan, Nitobe's English was considered one of the ideal models of English for Japanese people and researchers who were learning or studying English. Sanki Ichikawa, known as the father of English philology and linguistics in Japan, wrote about Japanese writers of English:

Over one hundred years have passed since the study of English in Japan began. However, during the time we have so far not had fifty people, needless say, but one hundred people who could and can write excellent English. If we remove semi-native speakers of English who spent or have spent many years abroad and limit them to authentic Japanese people who were or are well educated as a Japanese in Japan, the number of master writers of English are awfully few in the past and the present, and will be few enough to count on the fingers of two hands. Among people who left great achievements behind in history of Japanese culture, there is no divergence of opinion about the statement that Japanese masters of English writing are Kanzo Uchimura, Inazo Nitobe, and Tenshin Okakura. (translation ours)

Since Ichikawa named these three people as Japanese masters of English writing, their names have come up whenever Japanese professors of English talk about the topic. Yuzo Ota, in his book *Eigo to Nihonjin: Naze Eigo ga Dekinai*, refers to him

as a member of the “*Eigo meijin sedai*” and noted that he probably wrote with more facility in English than in Japanese (Ota, 1995: 238) while Yoshifumi Saito, a professor of English at University of Tokyo introduced Uchimura, Nitobe and Okakura as *Japanese Masters of English* (in Japanese, *Eigo Tatsujin Retsuden*, 2000) and while giving separate chapters to each, he set a higher value on Nitobe, making him the first chapter and the preeminent master of his book.

While Japanese teachers of English have held Nitobe’s English in high regard, there is a dichotomy in regard to how he is viewed by native speakers. Native speaking contemporaries of Nitobe, such as the son of the American novelist Nathaniel Hawthorne (author of *The Scarlet Letter* and *The House of the Seven Gables*), Julian, praised Nitobe’s English as “so singularly pure, easy and effective that no one would imagine it to be the work of a foreigner—and of a foreigner so very foreign as a Japanese” (from Howes and Oshiro, 1995: 13). These comments not only of Japanese on the English of Nitobe, but also from English speaking contemporaries about a Japanese writer who lived a hundred years ago no doubt represents a strong thread of opinion.

On the other hand, current native speaking critics are more reserved in their praise. Ion (1995: 80) writes that Nitobe possessed ‘a quaint written English style’ and Powles notes that the style of Nitobe was ‘meant to dazzle’ (1995: 112). Certainly Nitobe’s style is grandiloquent and verbose, replicating the high style of other writers of the time. So it would be useful to identify, as an exercise, the aspects of the work that seem foreign to a modern day reader of English.

## 2.0 Nitobe’s life

Before looking at Nitobe’s English in *Bushido*, we would like to introduce him in order to place him in an historical context.

Inazo Nitobe was born to a samurai family in what is now Morioka, Iwate and attended Sapporo Agricultural College in 1881, where he converted to Christianity. After entering Tokyo Imperial University and being unimpressed with the level of teaching and research, he traveled to the US to study in 1884, first at Allegheny College, located in western Pennsylvania, and then at Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore, Maryland. He was appointed to a position at his alma mater, Sapporo Agricultural College, on the condition that he earn a doctorate, which he did, in agricultural economics at Halle University, in Wittenberg, Germany.

While in the US, he became a Quaker and after obtaining his doctorate in Germany, he married another Quaker, Mary Patterson Elkinton in Philadelphia and returned to Japan in 1891 to assume an assistant professorship at the Sapporo Agricultural College. After taking a sabbatical to recover from an exhausting work schedule, he became an advisor to the Japanese colonial government on Taiwan in 1901 and succeeded in raising crop yields dramatically. His success in Taiwan led to his appointment to the University of Kyoto Law Faculty. Nitobe then served as a professor of law at Tokyo Imperial University, as well as serving as the headmaster of the First Higher School (at that time, the preparatory division for the Tokyo Imperial University), and the first president of Tokyo Women's Christian University.

Nitobe's career moved to a second stage when he was appointed an Under-Secretary General of the League of Nations from the League's founding in 1920 to 1926, and later served as chairman of the Japan Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations. An interesting sidelight to his work at the League of Nations was his authoring a report on the feasibility and possible use of Esperanto as a working language for the League. While the majority of the delegates voted to accept the recommendations, the French delegate used his veto power to block the report.

A committed pacifist, he worked to combat the rising militarism in Japan. Unfortunately, the currents of the time were against him and in 1932, after a conversation that Nitobe thought was off the record but was published in the press, where he asserted that Japanese militarism was a greater threat than Communism, not only was he threatened with assassination, but several associates were assassinated. In 1933, he was sent on a marathon speaking tour in North America to try and influence US public opinion, at a low point because of the Japanese establishment of the puppet state of Manchukuo, but in 1933, shortly after a meeting of the Institute of Pacific Relations (IPR) in Banff, Canada, he collapsed and died at the age of 72 in Victoria, British Columbia.

### 3.0 Nitobe's English

While Nitobe's English was impressive, does it still stand as an ideal or even good example for current Japanese learners? Are there some lessons we can take away from Nitobe's English? Therefore, bearing in mind the matters above mentioned, in this paper we would like to examine and discuss how the English of Nitobe's *Bushido* is perceived by current day native speakers of English, focusing on

vocabulary, collocation, usage, and rhetoric.

### 3.1 Readability measures

One global method to determine difficulty is to examine the text through various readability and ease of reading measurements. Utilizing the online tool located at <http://www.readability-score.com/>, the first paragraph is given a score of 40.9 on the Flesch-Kincaid Reading Ease. A higher score indicates easier readability; scores usually range between 0 and 100, and a score of 40, while difficult, is not overly so. On the other hand, readability formulas tell a different story.

Keeping in mind that readability formulas are generally based on a grade level found in the US educational system, with the number generally equivalent to the number of years of formal education in that system, for the Flesch-Kincaid Grade Level, a score of 17.6 while for the Gunning-Fog, a score of 21.1 is obtained. For the Coleman-Liau Index, the score is 10 while for the SMOG Index, developed by Robert McLaughlin as a counterpart to the Flesch-Kincaid, the score is 13.5 and for the Automated Readability Index, the score is 19.4. This range of scores, with a difference of 11.1 from the highest (Gunning-Fog) to the lowest (Coleman-Liau) is quite striking; for most texts, the scores would be more closely grouped together and it would be aspects of the formulae that would determine the variation.

The chart below compares two excerpts from *Bushido*, the initial paragraph and the penultimate paragraph to 3 other excerpts, a later sample of Nitobe's English (the first 100 words of a newspaper column, written in English on the withdrawal of Japan from the League of Nations and published in the Osaka Mainichi in 1933 (found in Nagao, 2006: 104)), and excerpt from Mitford's *Tales of Old Japan* (1871) quoted by Nitobe and a recent excerpt of a Time magazine article from November 29, 2012, (Time magazine, *Your Digital Legacy: States Grapple with Protecting Our Data After We Die*). This comparison strongly suggests that *Bushido* is in some senses an outlier.

The variation in the scores for the passage from *Bushido* argue for the fact that there are specific aspects that are more challenging and it is these aspects that not only are distributed differently from the Nitobe's near contemporary Mitford, but also from Nitobe's later writing and that of a modern day native speaker, and these aspects are being picked up by one formula but not by another. For example, the Gunning-Fog is quite high, which is probably due to the fact that complex words are defined as words with three or more syllables. On the other hand, the Coleman-Liau, which

Readability Formula	Bushido Excerpt 1	Bushido Excerpt 2	Newspaper column	Mitford excerpt	Time article
Flesch-Kincaid Grade Level	17.6	14.7	11.5	12.5	9
Gunning-Fog Score	21.1	17	13.9	14.6	11.2
Coleman-Liau Index	10	12.9	13.2	10.3	12.9
SMOG Index	13.5	13	10.4	10	9.1
Automated Readability Index	19.4	15	10.9	13.8	9.2

Table 1. Comparison of readability measures

suggests a first year high school student could read this, is based on characters rather than syllables. In addition, the Flesch-Kincaid Grade Level, which normally underestimates difficulty compared with the SMOG, is, in this case, much higher than the SMOG. And while the second excerpt has less of a difference, it is still greater than the other three excerpts. This suggests that the distribution of difficult aspects of the text is not the same as it would be for a normal native speaker text, which may account for the high praise by Japanese and the more reserved praise for Nitobe's style by current native speaker researchers.

Closer examination of particular aspects of the text yield some interesting observations. These observations will be divided into questions of vocabulary, collocation, metaphor and reference style.

## 4.0 Nitobe's vocabulary

It is clear, from reading *Bushido*, that Inazo Nitobe possessed a very large English vocabulary. While estimating his the size of his vocabulary would require access to all of his work, examining the vocabulary of *Bushido* provides some revealing results.

### 4.1 Understanding Nitobe's range of vocabulary, part 1

Utilizing the online tools at <http://language.tiu.ac.jp/flc/index.html> to check for the level of vocabulary, which checks and marks a text for Level 1 (first 1000 most common words in English), Level 2 (second 1000 most common words in English), Level 3 (words from the Academic Word List, a list of 800 words that are found in neither Levels one or two, found at <http://www.victoria.ac.nz/lals/resources/>

academicwordlist/) and words outside those three lists. The Coxhead AWL list uses families rather than the more familiar process of lemmatization because, as Cobb and Horst (2004) suggest, word families which emerge from the mechanical process of lemmatization are enormous and the likelihood of low-frequency affixes attaching to high frequency base words would give a mistaken impression.

Here is the statistics for the *Time* magazine article used above:

Types

	LEVEL 1	LEVEL 2	LEVEL 3	Outside lists	ALL
total	1003(73.70%)	53(3.89%)	91(6.69%)	214(15.72%)	1361
types	353(58.35%)	43(7.11%)	62(10.25%)	147(24.30%)	605

Table 2. Frequency table of *Time* article

Families

	LEVEL 1	LEVEL 2	LEVEL 3	Outside lists	ALL
total	1003(73.70%)	53(3.89%)	91(6.69%)	214(15.72%)	1361
families	275	41	52	147	515

Table 3. Frequency table of *Time* article (by families)

And here is the results for Nitobe's *Bushido*.

Types

	LEVEL 1	LEVEL 2	LEVEL 3	Outside lists	ALL
total	23538(76.47%)	1641(5.33%)	1054(3.42%)	4547(14.77%)	30780
types	1877(31.28%)	797(13.28%)	525(8.75%)	2802(46.69%)	6001

Table 4. Frequency table of *Bushido*

Families

	LEVEL 1	LEVEL 2	LEVEL 3	Outside lists	ALL
total	23538(76.47%)	1641(5.33%)	1054(3.42%)	4547(14.77%)	30780
families	890	510	330	2802	4532

Table 5. Frequency table of *Bushido* (by families)

While the percentages for each of the pieces of writing are roughly the same, note that for types and for families, the number of tokens (the numbers in the bottom row of each table) show that while an average piece of current writing has, depending on the measure, between 7 and 9 times as many Level 1 words as Level 2 and a similar



ratio to the Level 3, Nitobe's work has shows a 3 to 2 ratio of Level 1 and Level 2 words and a 4 to 1 ratio for between Levels 1 and 3. This means that Nitobe is using more words a smaller number of times. This makes the question one of a variety of usage, with Nitobe producing a wider variety of words. Keeping that in mind, we should begin to examine the vocabulary of *Bushido*.

## 4.2 Historical range of Nitobe's vocabulary

One point that is unavoidable is the use of words that are no longer in current use. These include not only words like *herbarium*, and *bier*, which represent objects no longer found in everyday use, but also introductory words such as *hence* and *henceforth*, *whereupon*, *wherewith*, and *whereas*. Part of this stems from Nitobe's biblical quotations, which are always taken from the *King James Version of the Bible*, and the use of the same sort of language to describe events in Japanese history.

One thing that strikes the modern reader is the usage of very rare and obscure words. Take, for example, the word *adytum*, as seen in this passage:

On the contrary, it believes in the innate goodness and God-like purity of the human soul, adoring it as the *adytum* from which divine oracles are proclaimed.

*Adytum* is defined in Webster's as "the innermost sanctuary in an ancient temple open only to priests", but it is a sufficiently rare enough word to not appear at all the British National Corpus (BNC). Yet Nitobe's phrasing gives a vivid understanding of the word despite the reader not, in all likelihood, not ever encountering the word before and the usage of words that are rare and most probably unknown to the reader is balanced out by Nitobe's ability to put the word in a context where the meaning is clear. For example, Nitobe writes:

The calm, *benignant*, and worldly-wise character of his politico-ethical precepts was particularly well suited to the samurai, who formed the ruling class.

While *benignant* occurs 4 times in the British National Corpus (BNC), it is another word that is likely new to the reader, but Nitobe's context makes the understanding perfectly clear.

### 4.3 Making it clear

Being able to restate and recast phrases is a key skill for a language learner and one way that Nitobe accomplishes this is through the use of multiple adjectives and the stacking of adjectives and modifiers, a trait we will consider next. The example above, with three adjectives, is a simple example. Below is a more complex one:

I deem it a product of the conditions of an artificial society—of a society *in which* accident of birth and unmerited favour instituted class distinctions, in which the family was the social unit, *in which* seniority of age was of more account than superiority of talents, *in which* natural affections had often to succumb before arbitrary man-made customs.

Here, we have four ‘in which’ clauses in the same sentence. This overabundance is possibly why several Japanese scholars feel that Nitobe’s English is an ideal model, but also why present day native speakers might consider Nitobe’s English overboard. It may also explain the difference in reading ease measurements, in that the wider variety would not show up on such measurements.

### 4.4 Nitobe’s use of foreign language

Another way that Nitobe achieves this variety is the use of a wide range of foreign terms. For example,

Who can improve by translation what the German “*Gemüth*” signifies, or who does not feel the difference between the two words verbally so closely allied as the English gentleman and the French *gentilhomme*?

However, Nitobe does not restrict himself to the use of modern European languages, but ranges even further afield, as can be seen in the following excerpt:

These were known as samurai, meaning literally, like the old English *cniht* (*knecht*, knight), guards or attendants—resembling in character the *soldurii* whom Caesar mentioned as existing in Aquitania, or the *comitati*, who, according to Tacitus, followed Germanic chiefs in his time; or, to take a still later parallel, the *milites medii* that one reads about in the history of Mediaeval Europe.

The Old English and Latin are certainly less common languages. We can also notice, as mentioned above, the use of 3 phrases, tying together *sodurii*, *comitati* and *milites medii*.

#### 4.5 Understanding Nitobe's range of vocabulary, part 2

However, the variety of languages Nitobe cites serves to conceal the incredibly wide range of English words that he uses. Returning to the online tools at <http://language.tiu.ac.jp/flc/index.html>, we find that, after removing proper nouns and foreign language vocabulary items, Nitobe uses roughly 2,400 vocabulary items one time only. One almost gets the impression that Nitobe feels it wrong to use a word more than once.

### 5.0 Nitobe's collocational sense

Moving to larger units, we turn to discussion of Nitobe's collocational sense in *Bushido*. As noted earlier, the work is an earlier work of Nitobe, so we can be sure that his sense of collocation evolved over time. While this examination is preliminary, it will hopefully lay the groundwork for a more in-depth study of what Roger Fowler (1977, 1996) terms 'mind-style'. 'Mind-style' is a notion first set out by Fowler, where he suggests that the linguistic patterns used by an author present a particular view of the world. While Fowler uses this notion to explore the personalities of the characters created by the authors, as a non-fiction work, an analysis of *Bushido* gives us a view to the 'mind-style' of Nitobe himself. Taking the results of such a study and comparing it with previously conducted historical research on Nitobe may bring interesting points to light.

Nitobe's collocational sense is, in some ways, quite striking. Collocation is one of the greatest challenges for second language learners and those who often have an excellent grasp of vocabulary and grammar can get tripped up by using collocations that don't quite match with a native speaker's intuitions. Nitobe uses a number of now rare collocations, but for all of them, they are ones that are attested, but in such small numbers that it is difficult to imagine that Nitobe encountered them in a text. It is possible that they were used in the spoken language rather than the written language, but they seem much more formal to be used in such a register. For example, the collocation *belligerent footing*, is not found in the BNC, but does yield one and only one result in a google search, appearing in a *New York Times* article

from August 10, 1864. The collocation *monstrous misnomer* receives, excluding its appearance in Nitobe, 1,940 hits. What is striking is that this is a collocation that a native speaker would find completely acceptable, but it is so poorly attested that it is difficult to imagine Nitobe somehow seeing the collocation in a text: it seems much more likely that he ‘made’ that collocation, a combination that seems perfectly appropriate. Another example, *didactic regulations*, is interesting in the sense that the google hits for the phrase appear to all be from the guidelines of European universities on line, suggesting that Nitobe was influenced by the Continental use of English.

It should also be noted that the use of multiple modifiers and parallelism serves to mask Nitobe’s collocational inventiveness. As we mentioned earlier, collocational ability is a key barrier for people learning English as a second language and Nitobe seems to revel in setting himself up for a challenge. Take this passage:

That *calmness of mind*, that *serenity of temper*, that *composure and quietness of demeanor*...

The structure masks the collocations that Nitobe is calling on, *calm mind*, *serene temper*, *composed/quiet demeanor*. Of these four, the second one (*serene temper*) is marked, but the markedness is masked by the genitive relationship. Further research should yield many more examples of marked collocations that are made more acceptable through grammatical means.

## 6.0 Nitobe’s use of metaphor

Moving beyond collocations, Nitobe often employs extended and overlapping metaphors. Deignan (2005) notes in her corpus based investigation of metaphor, that, following Conceptual Metaphor theory (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980), metaphorical language will often occur in a number of words from the same source domain will occur, something which she terms as clusters. At the beginning of the text, Nitobe presents 3 or 4 clusters based on different metaphors. The first is comparing *bushido* to a flower or plant. Depending on how carefully one wants to define this, either a new metaphor or an extension of the first one, is introduced, which *bushido* as a living entity. In passing, he links *bushido* to magic by discussing the ‘spell’ that *bushido* cast. Next, he uses an illumination metaphor, with *bushido*

as a light. Finally, he returns to the metaphor of *bushido* as a living entity to close. All of this in one paragraph!

While the second paragraph only introduces one new metaphor, that of a nation being similar to a castle or building, and recycling the metaphor of a non-animate noun as a living entity (this time to discuss feudalism), Nitobe uses a striking turn of phrase to introduce the new metaphor, noting that Dr. George Miller's book "appeared the same year that Commodore Perry was knocking at the portals of our exclusivism." It is a term that is unique to Nitobe, but also conjures up the image of a fortress and highlights the military aspect of Perry's *kurofune* excursion into Edo bay.

Keeping in mind this metaphor of a nation being a structure, observe how Nitobe, at the end of the work, reuses that metaphor but then pivots to link it to yet another metaphor, that of the phoenix:

It has been predicted—and predictions have been corroborated by the events of the last half century—that the *moral system* of Feudal Japan, like its castles and its armories, will *crumble into dust, and new ethics rise phoenix-like* to lead New Japan in her path of progress. Desirable and probable as the fulfilment of such a prophecy is, we must not forget that a phoenix rises only from its own ashes, and that it is not a bird of passage, neither does it fly on pinions borrowed from other birds.

An object of future research would be to list and connect the metaphorical clusters that Nitobe uses to see if they provide an overall structure to the work.

## 7.0 Nitobe's Rhetoric

Nitobe was, it seems, a magpie, grabbing on to useful bits of rhetoric to assemble his own work. The close of *Bushido* ends with the following paean to *bushido*:

*Bushido* as an independent code of ethics may vanish, but its power *will not perish from the earth*; its schools of martial prowess or civic honor may be demolished, but its light and its glory will long survive their

ruins.

As noted by Masahiro Sato, in the notes to his Japanese translation of *Bushido* (2000: 250), this paragraph is a purposeful echo of Abraham Lincoln's Gettysburg address, where Lincoln says:

It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us—that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion—that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain—that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom—and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, *shall not perish from the earth*.

Yet what Sato fails to note is that Lincoln's turn of phrase is biblical, coming from John 3:16:

For God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him *should not perish*, but have everlasting life.

Given Nitobe's extensive quotations from the Bible, it is not altogether clear that Lincoln should be attributed as the original source. But what is interesting in the context of this paper is that Nitobe takes that phrase, be it from Lincoln or from the *King James Bible*, and restates it with the phrase *its light and its glory will long survive their ruins*. While we cannot know, we find the phrase 'survive their ruins' in a set of sermons by Jacques Saurin, translated from French by Robert Robinson and published in 1800:

He is not obliged to leave the most interesting question that poor mortals can agitate, undecided; whether their souls perish with their bodies or *survive their ruins*. (p.252)

This sort of tendency, to gather up phrases and stack them in multiples seems to be a conscious strategy on Nitobe's part and one that we can ideally impress on students.

## 8.0 Conclusions and future research

In this paper, we have barely scratched the surface of Nitobe's early work, *Bushido*, but that preliminary investigation has yielded a wealth of interesting observations about Nitobe's vocabulary, collocational use, use of metaphor and his rhetoric. While all of these conspire to make Nitobe's English distant from a present day native speaker, they also suggest some key skills that present day learners of English could emulate.

While it is not possible to definitely answer the question of what lessons Nitobe's English holds for other Japanese learners, the sheer breadth of vocabulary is staggering and it would be of interest to learn what steps and practices Nitobe used to develop such a large vocabulary. Also of interest to teacher and students is the way that Nitobe defined and placed in context words that he thought the audience may not have been familiar with. This ability to restate, which Nitobe turned to at every opportunity, would be something to explicitly instruct language learners in.

In terms of collocations, Nitobe's collocational sense, deciding which vocabulary items comfortably work together, was also outstanding and students would benefit from a close examination of a corpus of Nitobe's collocations.

Furthermore, while native speakers may feel that it is too much, Nitobe's metaphorical management, where multiple metaphors are packed into the same sentence, is something that learners could benefit from. In fact, it may be the case that the usage of metaphors was something that drove Nitobe's vocabulary acquisition. It is quite possible that Nitobe used metaphors to provide a conceptual framework for new vocabulary. Then, by linking these stories together, Nitobe may have been able to remember far more vocabulary items than other students.

Finally, Nitobe's gathering and recycling of famous rhetorical tropes is clearly something that contributed to his fluency and the universally high perception of his English ability.

All of these notions point to the possibility of using Nitobe as an example for Japanese students and we hope that further research can pin down specific points to consider and teach.

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